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MEDIEVAL ROME IN POLAND  
INDULGENCES OF THE STATION CHURCHES  
OF ROME AND JUBILEE INDULGENCES  
IN MEDIEVAL POLAND

The peregrinations *ad limina sanctorum* are extremely interesting from the point of view of academic research. Not only do they show the mobility patterns of people in the past and models of religiousness in the past centuries but they also depict the development of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Poland and enable the researcher to explore the reception of the culture of antiquity and intellectual relations between Italy and Poland<sup>1</sup>. Research on the pilgrimages from

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<sup>1</sup> See the classic treatise by H. Barycz, *Polacy na studiach w Rzymie w epoce Odrodzenia (1440–1600)*, (1938); T. Ulewicz, *Średniowieczne podróże z Polski do Włoch (wprowadzenie kulturotwórcze)*, “Ruch Literacki”, 28, 6 (1987), pp. 411–420. For recent literature on the subject see also M. D. Kowalski, *Między Italią a Polską. Podróż kolektorów papieskich w XV wieku*, in: *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakiem? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. by M. Saczyńska, E. Wólkiewicz, (2012), pp. 133–143; J. Smołucha, *Polityka kurii rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458–1464) wobec Czech i krajów sąsiednich. Z dziejów dyplomacji papieskiej w XV wieku*, (2008); idem, *Papiestwo a Polska w latach 1484–1526. Kontakty*

Poland to the Eternal City has a long tradition, recently summed up by Halina Manikowska<sup>2</sup>. Thanks to the findings of Fryderyk Papée in the early twentieth century, we know the way most frequently chosen by pilgrims heading to Rome<sup>3</sup>. Historiographers have also registered that Polish pilgrims took part in jubilee celebrations<sup>4</sup>. Reading last wills and testaments, usually entered into municipal registers, has revealed an even larger number of pilgrims<sup>5</sup>. In the latter case we are often informed that a given person has successfully returned from a pilgrim-

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*dypmatyczne na tle zagrożenia tureckiego*, (1999); W. Szymborski, *Pielgrzymka księcia pomorskiego Bogusława X do Rzymu u schyłku XV wieku*, "Nasza Przeszłość", 99 (2003), pp. 367–378; S. A. Sroka, *Pielgrzymka królowej Elżbiety Łokietkówny do Rzymu w 1343 roku*, "Peregrinus Cracoviensis", 4 (1996), pp. 157–163. On medieval pilgrimages to Rome see also D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages. Continuity and Change*, (1998).

<sup>2</sup> H. Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza*, (2008).

<sup>3</sup> F. Papée, *Marszruta poselska z Krakowa do Rzymu około r. 1458*, in: idem, *Studia i szkice z czasów Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, (1907), pp. 279–281.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Sossalla, *Udział Śląska w Anno Sancto 1400*, "Wiadomości Urzędowe Kurii Biskupiej Śląska Opolskiego", 21, 8 (1966), pp. 186–191; B. Kumor, *Pierwszy rok święty w kościele katolickim (1300)*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne", 23, 4 (1976), pp. 5–10; H. D. Wojtyśka, *Lata święte w XV i XVI wieku*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne", 23, 4 (1976), pp. 11–24; idem, *Miłościwe Lata. Dzieje Wielkich Jubileuszów Chrześcijaństwa (z udziałem Polaków)*, (2000); S. Kwiatkowski, *Odpust jubileuszowy roku 1450 w państwie zakonnym w Prusach*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 3–4 (177–178) (1987), pp. 407–429; A. Sachetnik, *Prośba świętej Jadwigi królowej o pierwszy odpust jubileuszowy w Polsce*, in: *Dzieło Jadwigi i Jagiełły. W sześćsetlecie chrztu Litwy i jej związków z Polską*, selected and edited by W. Biliński, (1989), pp. 253–265; S. A. Sroka, *Udział Spytka z Jarosławia w Anno Sancto 1500*, "Rocznik Przemyński", 32, 1 (1996), pp. 105–109; J. Smołucha, S. A. Sroka, *Historia lat świętych*, (2000); J. Smołucha, *Udział pielgrzymów z królestwa Polskiego i wielkiego księstwa litewskiego w obchodach średniowiecznych jubileuszów chrześcijaństwa*, "Nasza Przeszłość", 93 (2000), pp. 5–21; K. Sokołowski, *Tradycja lat jubileuszowych*, (Zeszyty "Niedzieli" 16, 2000); S. A. Sroka, *Udział Ślązaków w obchodach Roku Świętego 1500 w świetle źródeł rzymskich*, in: *Lux Romana w Europie Środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska*, ed by A. Barciak, (2001), pp. 197–204.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. B. Wyrozumska, *Pielgrzymki w księgach miejskich Krakowa*, typescript, passim; I hereby thank Professor Wyrozumska for the possibility to read the typescript;

age (at which point the last will would be removed from the register where had been entered)<sup>6</sup>. The archives also reveal special passports issued before setting off to Rome; they confirmed the pious intentions of the wanderers, and in the modern era also the fact that they did not come from plague-stricken areas<sup>7</sup>. This particular entry was of special significance if one considers the heavy toll such epidemics used to take at that time. Undoubtedly, the planned publishing of an invaluable source – the book of the Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost in which Polish pilgrims put down their names while in the Eternal City – will complement the image of the so-called great pilgrimages<sup>8</sup>.

This paper will show the pilgrimages to Rome the Poles undertook in the Middle Ages without leaving their country. This was possible thanks to a few practices such as: obtaining jubilee indulgences, indulgences of Roman stations, and visiting selected necropoleis in medieval Poland. In this way, the faithful could obtain holy dispensation without

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see also the comments eadem, *Z dziejów polskich pielgrzymek w średniowieczu*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne", 89 (1989), pp. 79–88.

<sup>6</sup> For further reading, refer to W. Szyborski, *Testamenty mieszczkańskie jako źródło do dziejów badań nad ruchem pielgrzymkowym w średniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Prawo bliżej człowieka – z dziejów prawa rodzinnego i spadkowego. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej przez Sekcję Historii Państwa i Prawa Towarzystwa Biblioteki Słuchaczy Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 8–8 marca 2007 r.*, ed. by M. Miś, (2008), pp. 153–165 (there also further reading); see also B. Możejko, *Materiał źródłowy z Gdańska do dziejów późnośredniowiecznych pielgrzymek – rekonstrukcja badawcza*, in: *Pielgrzymi, pogrobowcy, prebendarze*, ed. by B. Śliwiński, (*Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 15, 2009), pp. 107–130.

<sup>7</sup> See Szyborski, *Nieznane źródło do dziejów pielgrzymek do Ziemi Świętej*, "Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny", 13 (2007), pp. 143–153; see also idem, *Uwagi o średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych paszportach dla pielgrzymów udających się z Polski do Rzymu i Jerozolimy*, in: *Historia vero testis temporum. temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. by J. Smółucha [et al.], (2008), pp. 307–313.

<sup>8</sup> See comments by J. Wiesiołowski, *Pielgrzymowanie Polaków do Rzymu na przełomie XV i XVI w. (1478–1526)*. Komunikat, in: *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. by H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, (1995), pp. 160–164; on the fraternity book see Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, pp. 225–227.

having to travel to Rome as I will discuss later in this paper. It is also worth mentioning another method of “going on a pilgrimage” to Rome which consisted of sending a generously-paid pilgrim on one’s behalf. Sending a substitute was known and practiced all over Europe. Such a professional pilgrim would travel instead of a given person to the Holy Land, Rome or other specified sanctuaries. It is worth emphasizing that the indulgences obtained during the pilgrimage were then handed over to the person who had sponsored the trip<sup>9</sup>. On the topic of substitute pilgrimages, one should also mention the so-called spiritual pilgrimages – a “trip” to Rome carried out through everyday prayers<sup>10</sup>. In the Leiden Archives there is a printed book / booklet which used to belong to female members of a Third Order in Hertogenbosch. It contains a guide to making a virtual pilgrimage to Rome and obtaining indulgences from the seven major churches of the Eternal City<sup>11</sup>. This, however, was not popular in Poland.

Speaking of the “Polish” pilgrimages to Rome we should start from the so-called jubilee indulgences. On their strength, the faithful in selected Polish churches could be granted an indulgence originally reserved for Roman basilicas. Pursuant to the *Antiquorum habet fidem* bull of 22 February 1300 Pope Boniface VIII granted a special indulgence to the faithful who visited Roman basilicas (those who came

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<sup>9</sup> For further reading, refer to the comments by W. Mruk in *Pielgrzymowanie do Ziemi Świętej w drugiej połowie XIV wieku*, (2001), pp. 44–46; the practice of placing such bequests in burghers’ last wills was discussed by R. Kubicki in *Mieszkańcy Elbląga w świetle piętnastowiecznych testamentów*, “Rocznik Elbląski”, 24 (2012), pp. 20–21; idem, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan elbląskich w XV–początkach XVI w.*, in: *Z dziejów średniowiecza. Pamięci Profesora Jana Powierskiego (1940–1999)*, ed. by W. Długokęcki, (2010), p. 180 and further; cf. Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 224; see samples of last wills from Western Europe including orders to go on a pilgrimage to Rome: D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, (2001), 1385 Roger Crede p. 141.

<sup>10</sup> For further reading, refer to in K. M. Ruda, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages*, (2011), the pilgrimages to Rome are discussed on pp. 121–130.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 127.

from outside the Eternal City had to go to the churches 15 times, the inhabitants of Rome 30 times) and took confession. This was called a jubilee indulgence<sup>12</sup>. Originally a jubilee was supposed to come once in a hundred years; that period was shortened to fifty years, then thirty-three years, and finally the holy years were separated by a twenty-five year period.

The faithful from Poland were able to obtain a jubilee indulgence for the first time as early as in the late fourteenth century. In response to the supplication of Queen Hedwig of Poland, on 16 October 1391, Pope Boniface IX announced a jubilee indulgence in the Kingdom of Poland which the Polish faithful could receive if they paid a series of visits to Kraków churches for 15 days, from 1 June to 30 September 1392. Those who could not complete that task on account of poor health, could benefit from jubilee pardons on the conditions established by special confessors<sup>13</sup>. In connection with this jubilee, Stanisław of Skarbimierz wrote a treatise devoted to indulgences<sup>14</sup>.

The faithful in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania could benefit from another jubilee privilege in 1450. King Casimir IV Jagiellon asked the pope to enable his subjects to receive the holy year indulgence without having to actually go to Rome. Justifying his request the monarch wrote about the necessity to defend the Kingdom against the invasions of the Tartars and other pagans<sup>15</sup>. In his bull

<sup>12</sup> Kumor, *Pierwszy rok święty*, pp.5–6.

<sup>13</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae*, ed. by I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, 3: 1378–1417, (1988), no. 251, pp. 45–46; Sroka, *Udział Spytki*, p. 106; Smołucha, Sroka, *Historia lat*, pp. 27–30; Smołucha, *Udział pielgrzymów*, pp. 10–11; Wojtyńska, *Miłościwe Lata*, pp. 19–21; K. Ożóg, *Święta Jadwiga wobec problemów chrystianizacyjnych w Europie u schyłku XIV wieku*, in: *Święta Jadwiga Królowa patronka Europy*, “Universitas”, 23 (1998), p. 76; J. Drabina, *Papiescy wysłannicy na ziemiach polskich w latach panowania królowej Jadwigi (1384–1399)*, “Studia Historyczne”, 35, 4 (1992), p. 455.

<sup>14</sup> Sachetnik, *Prośba świętej Jadwigi*, p. 258; S. Wielgus, *Krytyczna edycja traktatu “De indulgentiis” Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, “Acta Mediaevalia”, 3 (1978), pp. 10–12.

<sup>15</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*, 1, 1: (1387–1468), ed. by J. Fijałek, W. Semkowicz, (1932), no. 200, p. 225.

of 7 December 1450 Pope Nicholas V allowed the faithful in Poland to receive a jubilee indulgence without going on a pilgrimage to Rome. In return they had to visit the cathedrals in Gniezno, Lvov, Kraków or Vilnius for 3 days with or without breaks, as well as offering relevant alms. That is, in boxes placed in certain churches they had to put half the sum they would have spent if they had gone to Rome personally and spent 15 days there. Half of the sum obtained from the collection of the money was allocated by the pope for the king to defend the country against the Tartars, and Queen Sophia was allowed to use a quarter of the whole sum for the dowries of maidens converted to Christianity. The rest of the money was to be used for the renovation of Roman basilicas<sup>16</sup>. In the Central National Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lvov a jubilee bull is kept, which was most probably displayed in the cathedral (its corners are punctured)<sup>17</sup>. Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine where and for how long it had been published in that manner.

A few months after issuing the mentioned bull, Pope Nicholas V issued another, also at the request of King Casimir<sup>18</sup>. It was identical to the one issued on 7 December. The pope fixed the date when it was possible to receive the jubilee indulgence in the cathedrals in Gniezno, Kraków, Lvov and Vilnius (December of that year). Besides, at the request of the monarch the payment for the indulgence was reduced to a quarter of the expenses necessary to carry out a return journey to Rome<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (henceforth: CPAHU), fond 131, case 150; Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej w Krakowie [Archives of the Cathedral Chapter in Kraków], manuscript LP 2, k. 423 r-424 r; ibidem, LP 5-1, no. 64, k. 9 v; k. 110 r-113 r; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry*, no. 201, pp. 225–228; *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia. Maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis, deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita*, 2: *Ab Ioanne PP. XXIII usque ad Pium PP. V. 1410–1572*, ed. by A. Theiner, (1861), no. 119, pp. 80–81.

<sup>17</sup> CPAHU, fond 131, case 150.

<sup>18</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry*, no. 205, p. 232.

<sup>19</sup> That document was published in print by A. Theiner with the date of 13 April

In the next holy year, which was in 1475, on 11 November Pope Sixtus IV exempted the faithful from Poland and Lithuania from the obligation to go to Rome on the condition they visit the cathedrals in Gniezno, Lvov, Kraków or Vilnius and offer alms<sup>20</sup>. As in 1475, during the next jubilee (1500) the faithful in Poland and Lithuania could receive indulgences without having to go to Rome<sup>21</sup>.

Thanks to supplications from the monarchs of the Jagiellonian dynasty the faithful from Poland and Lithuania could receive jubilee indulgences. Instead of going on a long, costly and sometimes dangerous pilgrimage to the Eternal City they were supposed to pay a pious visit to Gniezno, Kraków, Lvov or Vilnius. It should be stressed, however, that the next jubilees announced did not attract such crowds in Poland as in the memorable year 1450.

Speaking of jubilee indulgences, it is worth mentioning that before all the faithful from Poland and Lithuania could benefit from them, the pope had granted that privilege to monarchs. The first to benefit from this was king Casimir III the Great<sup>22</sup>. Later the privileges were received by the kings from the Jagiellonian dynasty (on 1 December 1423 King Władysław II Jagiełło, on 7 December 1451 King Casimir IV Jagiellon, on 20 March 1500 King John I Albert). King Władysław Jagiełło could not only receive jubilee indulgences himself but also appoint twenty-five of his advisors to receive that favour in the holy year. Meanwhile Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, obtained the right to appoint fifteen advisors, while on the strength of the bull of Pope Alexander VI King John I Albert was able to name as many as one hundred people<sup>23</sup>.

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1451, whereas Father J. Fijałek thought it was issued on 12 July Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F6–34; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry*, no. 206, pp. 232–234; VMPL, 2, no. 128, p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library], manuscript 7759 II, k. 290 r–v.

<sup>21</sup> Wojtyńska, *Miłościwe Lata*, pp. 31–34; Smółucha, Sroka, *Historia lat*, p. 54; Smółucha, *Udział pielgrzymów*, pp. 17–18.

<sup>22</sup> See comments by Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 246.

<sup>23</sup> This issue was raised in: W. Szymborski, *Interdyscyplinarne badania nad*

The Piasts from Mazovia were honoured in a similar way. During the jubilee in 1450 the pope's office received a supplication from Duke Bolesław of Mazovia. On 18 December 1450 Pope Nicholas V acceded to the request of Duke Bolesław and his mother Duchess Anna<sup>24</sup>. The pope granted them and a hundred designated people from their duchy a privilege to receive jubilee indulgences. In order for this to happen, instead of going to Rome one had to pay visits to a cathedral for 10 days or to John the Baptist Collegiate Church in Warsaw. To be granted total absolution, one had to offer alms – half the sum they would have spent on a return journey to Rome; the money was to be used for the needs of Roman basilicas; the second half was supposedly allocated to other pious purposes<sup>25</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that magnates also tried to receive a jubilee indulgence in 1450. Jerzy Strumiło, Grand Standard-Bearer of Lvov, Piotr of Sprowa, the Voivode of Lvov and Starost of Ruthenia, the brothers Teodoryk and Musilo (Michał) of Buczac and their wives, all submitted supplications to the pope in this matter<sup>26</sup>. The pope allowed them to

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*średniowiecznymi dokumentami odpustowymi – perspektywy i możliwości badawcze*, in: *Nauki pomocnicze historii. Teoria, metody badań, dydaktyka*, ed. by A. Jaworska, R. Jop, (2013), pp. 175–176.

<sup>24</sup> For the people mentioned see K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław IV (1421–1454)*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny", 2 (1936), pp. 280–281; T. Piotrowski, *Anna, żona Bolesława ks. mazow.*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny", 1 (1935), p. 123.

<sup>25</sup> Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk [Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and of the Polish Academy of Sciences] (henceforth: BPAU), *Roman files*, manuscript 8472, pp. 119–121; VMPL, 2, no. 123, pp. 83–84; *Bullarium Poloniae. Litteras apostolicas aliaque monumenta Poloniae Vaticana continens*, 6: 1447–1464, ed. et cur. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, cooper. P. Szczaniecki, M. Kowalczyk, (1998), no. 488, p. 109; Wojtyńska, *Lata święte w XV i XVI wieku*, p. 15; idem, *Miłosciwe Lata*, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> For the people mentioned see A. Supruniuk, *Strumiło (Strumilo) Jerzy z Dmoszyna*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny", 44 (2006–2007), pp. 430–433; F. Kiryk, *Odrowąż Piotr ze Sprowy i Zagórza*, ibidem, 23 (1978), pp. 551–555; A. Dörflerówna, *Buczacki Teodoryk, h. Abdank*, ibidem, 3 (1937), pp. 85–86; eadem, *Buczacki Michał Mużyło, h. Abdank*, ibidem, p. 85.



benefit from the indulgence where they lived, without having to go to Rome, in the churches they provided patronages for<sup>27</sup>.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the popes started to abuse the favors of the holy years. Not only did they announce new jubilees more and more often but they also quite easily exempted people from the obligation of visiting Roman basilicas personally. Obtaining a jubilee indulgence became increasingly easy for a multitude of the faithful. On 25 April 1475 Pope Sixtus IV granted the holy year indulgence to all the faithful who had visited Franciscan churches or Poor Clare convents for 15 days, said the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and selected psalms for the peace and well-being of the Christian Church<sup>28</sup>.

One could receive the jubilee (Roman) indulgence by taking part in the crusades. As a result of two supplications by King Alexander Jagiellon for jubilee indulgences in return for participation in an expedition against Turkey, on 8 June 1501 Pope Alexander VI issued a bull in which he granted a jubilee indulgence to those subjects of the king who visited the churches indicated by Bishop Erazm Ciołek. Apart from visiting the churches they had to take part in the fights with the infidels for 6 months and offer alms (a quarter of the expenses they would have had to incur in order to go to Rome and return to Lithuania). As in the case of other jubilees, the people who could not visit the indicated churches due to illness, had to offer alms – the sum equaled the costs of the weekly upkeep of a household. The pope decided that the indulgence was valid for 6 months from its announcement. He ordered a record to be kept of the income, the entirety of which was supposed to be used for the planned crusade<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae. Litteras*, 6, no. 380, p. 90.

<sup>28</sup> *Bullarium Franciscanum. Nova series*, 3: *Continens constitutiones epistolas diplomata Romani pontificis Sixti IV ad tres Ordines S.P.N. Francisci spectantia (1471–1484)*, coll. et ed. I. M. Pou y Marti, (1949), no. 697, p. 315; see also *ibidem*, no. 698, p. 315.

<sup>29</sup> Archivio Segreto Vaticano (henceforth ASV), Arm. 32, vol. 21, k. 3 r, 53 v–57; BPAU, *Roman files*, manuscript 8475, p. 152; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry*, no. 493, pp. 586–591; *Kopiarz rzymski Erazma Ciołka z początku wieku XVI*, ed. by S. Kutrzeba,

In 1505 King Alexander Jagiellon submitted another supplication to Pope Julius II for granting a jubilee indulgence to those of his subjects who had given donations for the planned expedition against the Turks. The Pope acceded to the monarch's request and on 30 August 1505 he granted an indulgence to the faithful in Poland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Latgale in return for a quarter of the cost they would have had to incur by going on a pilgrimage to Rome. That money was to finance the expedition of king Alexander against the Turks<sup>30</sup>.

The jubilee indulgences could be also received by people who did not go on a pilgrimage to Rome, or take part in a crusade, or support any clergy or monks, but who helped to reconstruct or renovate churches. On 11 October 1475 Pope Sixtus IV granted a jubilee indulgence, the same as for visiting Roman basilicas, in return for visiting the Dominican church in Poznań on the first Sunday of the Lent and offering alms for the renovation of the church after it had been destroyed by fire. Two-thirds of the collected money was to be used for the renovation and the remaining one-third for organizing a crusade<sup>31</sup>.

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J. Fijałek, "Archiwum Komisji Historycznej", series 2, 1 (1923), no. 13, p. 84; Smolucha, *Udział pielgrzymów*, pp. 19–20; Wojtyska, *Lata święte*, p. 17; idem, *Miłościwe Lata*, p. 32; W. Szymborski, *Czyścowa nagroda dla wiernych w Polsce i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim za udział w walkach z Turkami w XV i XVI w.*, in: *Sarmatismus versus Orientalismus in Mitteleuropa. Sarmatyzm versus Orientalizm w Europie Środkowej*, ed. by M. Długosz, P. O. Scholz, (2012), p. 178.

<sup>30</sup> Biblioteka ks. Czartoryskich [Princes Czartoryski Library], parchment document no. 685; ASV, Arm 32, vol. 21, k. 4 v, 171 v–173 v; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], *Inventarium privilegiorum literarum, diplomatum scripturarum et munimentorum quaecunque in Archivio Regni in arce Cracoviensi continebantur conscriptum sub auspiciis Joannis Zamoscii*, vol. I, manuscript BOZ, sign. 30, no. 57, p. 25, no. 101, p. 50; BPAU, *Roman files*, manuscript 8475, p. 112; VMPL, II, no. 352, pp. 320–322.

<sup>31</sup> BPAU, *Roman files*, manuscript 8472, pp. 305–312, 367; E. Barwiński, L. Birkenmajer, J. Łoś, *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w Szwecji dokonanych z ramienia Akademii Umiejętności*, (1914), no. 5, pp. 12–15; W. Szymborski, *Niebiańska ekonomia – uwagi o funkcjonowaniu odpustów w kręgu zakonów mendykanckich w średniowiecznej Polsce*,

In 1503 Pope Alexander VI announced a jubilee indulgence, the money from which was to be used for the construction of the wall around the Poznań cathedral. Collection boxes were placed in many churches of the Poznań Diocese (in Poznań, Warsaw, Wschowa, Sambyn and Łaskarzewo). The faithful who wanted to receive the indulgence were supposed to donate a quarter of the cost they would have incurred by going on a pilgrimage to Rome. Those who could not personally visit the churches on account of old age or illness could obtain the jubilee indulgence after offering alms (a week's upkeep of themselves and their family)<sup>32</sup>. Apparently, not enough money was collected for the renovation of the cathedral in 1503, as Bishop Jan Lubrański sent another supplication to Pope Julius II for an indulgence. The Pope announced another jubilee in 1505. Again, the faithful could use the privileges of the holy year after donating the same amount of money as in 1503<sup>33</sup>.

Along with selling indulgences connected with the reconstruction of St. Peter's Basilica there appeared another chance to obtain a holy year indulgence without going on a pilgrimage to Rome. Among the parchment documents of the Archives of the Diocese of Włocławek a printed document from 19 February 1517 has been preserved. Krzysztof, the general curate of the Observant monks, entitled by the pope, granted a set of favors to Paweł, a Benedictine monk from Tuchów. The latter received, among others, a jubilee indulgence, the right to choose his confessor who could absolve him of papal reservations and the right to possess a portable altar. In return he had to offer alms for the construc-

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in: *Inter oeconomiam coelestem et terrenam. Mendykanci a zagadnienia ekonomiczne*, ed. by W. Długocki, T. Gałuszka OP, R. Kubicki, A. Zajchowska, (2011), p. 128.

<sup>32</sup> ASV, Arm 32, vol. 21, k. 4 r, 159 v–162 r.; BPAU, *Roman files*, manuscript 8475, p. 161; *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der in der heutigen Provinz Posen vereinigten ehemals polnischen Landesteile*, ed. by H. Ehrenberg, (1892), no. 12, pp. 28–34; *Kopiarz rzymski*, no. 73, pp. 98–99.

<sup>33</sup> *Zapiski historyczne z lat 1410–1530 (z ksiąg Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Poznaniu)*, publ. by J. Nowacki, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 3 (1958), no. 76, p. 168; see also *Kronika klasztoru Trzemeszńskiego*, ed. by A. Hirschberg, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 3 (1878), p. 258.

tion of St. Peter's Basilica and the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls in Rome<sup>34</sup>.

The faithful from Poland and Lithuania could "carry out" a pilgrimage to Rome obtaining the so-called indulgences of Roman stations. Visiting selected churches or altars which possessed the privilege of the so-called Roman stations, one obtained identical indulgences as the faithful in Rome who went to a specific church on a given day. The value of the so-called *ad instar* indulgences was very high. However, it is difficult to determine it exactly. First of all, the churches in Rome were constantly granted some indulgences, hence the sum of years and days of indulgences available in other countries also grew. Already in the mid-twelfth century the pilgrims visiting the station churches in Rome could obtain more indulgences than in any other sanctuary in that city<sup>35</sup>. The value of indulgences available to the faithful visiting Roman stations raised doubts as early as in the twelfth century. Gerald of Wales during his pilgrimage in 1195 added them all up and obtained the number of 92 years. William of Auxerre left a different calculation – 50 years. Pope Boniface VIII granted 1 year and 40 days to the pilgrims for visiting every station church. It should be stressed (after J. Sumpston) that station churches could also have other indulgences regardless of the mentioned papal bull<sup>36</sup>. The value of the indulgences of Roman stations gradually grew, however no-one was able to give their exact

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<sup>34</sup> Archiwum Diecezjalne we Włocławku [Diocese Archives in Włocławek], parchment document no. 421.

<sup>35</sup> J. Sumpston, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, (1975), p. 230; for the history of Roman stations indulgences see E. Amort, *De origine, progressu, valore, ac fructu Indulgentiarum nec non de dispositionibus ad eas lucrandas ac requisitis, accurate notitia historica, dogmatic, polemica, critica*, (1738), p. 36; H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 (1896), p. 447 and further; Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 308 and further; the history of station liturgy is discussed by J. Mieczkowski, *Rzymska liturgia stacyjna*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny", 65 (2012), no. 1, pp. 29–44; see also R. F. McNamara, *Stational Church*, in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13 (1981), pp. 662–664.

<sup>36</sup> Sumpston, *Pilgrimage*, p. 230; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 195–196.

value. Documents written on Roman stations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries list indulgences whose value was astronomical: many plenary indulgences and thousands of years of partial indulgences<sup>37</sup>. According to the lists drafted in the modern era, the indulgences of Roman stations were: 49 plenary indulgences, 1 505 697 years, 684 671 quadragens (40 days' indulgences), 12 indulgences granting pardon from one-third of penitential punishments, releasing 14 souls from purgatory<sup>38</sup>.

Modern lists of rights and privileges obtained by the mendicants often include a list of indulgences of Roman stations<sup>39</sup>. The lists were made in order for the monks to have basic information about the indulgences so that they could convey that information to the faithful while preaching. The information on the indulgences of Roman stations was also put in special guides for the pilgrims going to Rome<sup>40</sup>. Among the

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<sup>37</sup> Lea, *A History of Auricular*, pp. 279–280, 344–345, 448–450; Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 335; D. Webb, *Pardons and Pilgrims*, in: *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by R. N. Swanson, (2006), pp. 260–261, 266; see example editions *The Stations of Rome and the Pilgrims Sea-Voyage*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, (1867), passim; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 179–180; one can also find 15<sup>th</sup>–c. guidebooks to Rome which include real lists of Roman stations, see: W. Brewyn, *A XVth Century Guide-Book to the Principal Churches of Rome*, transl. by C. E. Woodruff, (1933), pp. 15–20; a list of manuscripts and incunabula including *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum principalium urbis Romae* is contained in N. M. Miedem's, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den "Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae"*, (2001); Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 215 and further; for promoting the idea of Roman indulgences and pilgrimages to the Eternal City among the faithful along with the texts containing a list of indulgences see comments by J. R. Hulbert, *Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome*, "Modern Philology", 20, 4 (1923), p. 403 and further.

<sup>38</sup> Lea, *A History of Auricular*, p. 451.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. *Stationes ac Indulgentiae perpetuae ecclesiarum Romae per quadragessimam, et totius anni decursum: quas consequuntur fideles Societatis Corrigiatorum S. P. Augustini, visitantes Ecclesias Patrum Ordinis Eremitarum eiusdem Beatissimi Patris*, in: *Summa Indulgentiarum Ordinis Eremit. S. P. Augustini, A multis Summis Pontificibus concessarum Quibus Fratres, et Moniales, Confratres, Corrigiati, et Mantelatae eiusdem Ordinis, potiuntur*, (1605), pp. 1–31.

<sup>40</sup> H. Defoer, *Images as Aids for Earning the Indulgences of Rome*, in: *Tributes in*

guides one can find a text informing the readers about the superiority of going to Rome over other sanctuaries elsewhere. The indulgences which the pilgrims visiting the St. John's Lateran Basilica could obtain were so numerous that further peregrinations to the Holy Land in order to visit Jerusalem were pointless<sup>41</sup>.

Jubilee indulgences in medieval Poland were usually available to a great many of the faithful. However, as regards the different category of "Roman" indulgences, that question was more complex. The so-called indulgences of Roman stations were granted both to individuals and to the whole community of the faithful. The indulgences addressed to individuals were a certain honor. Among the people who received is honor were authority figures (e.g. Grzegorz Lubrański, a provost of Saint Florian Collegiate Church, vice-chancellor of the kingdom<sup>42</sup>). The station indulgences were assigned to individual private altars, often portable ones. The indulgences were granted by the pope's office following supplications sent probably by the people interested themselves. Those privileges were combined with the right to hear a mass before dawn on the territory where the interdict was in effect, and also with the choice of the confessor who was in a position to absolve one from so-called reservations. After visiting an altar indicated by the confessor and saying 5 Lord's Prayers and 5 Hail Marys, one obtained the same indulgences as after a pilgrimage to the Roman basilicas and churches where the so-called stations were<sup>43</sup>.

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*Honor of James H. Marrow. Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. by J. F. Hamburger, A. S. Korteweg, (2006), p. 164 and further; see also comments by A. R. Bell, R. S. Dale, *The Medieval Pilgrimage Business*, "Enterprise and Society", 12, 3 (2011), p. 604.

<sup>41</sup> Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 354; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, p. 180; see also Webb, *Pardons and Pilgrims*, pp. 244, 270.

<sup>42</sup> For more on Grzegorz Lubrański see K. Pieradzka, *Lubrański (de Lubrancz, Lubransky) Grzegorz h. Godziemba (zm. 1500)*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny", 18 (1973), pp. 80–81.

<sup>43</sup> For further reading on the indulgence for Grzegorz Lubrański: VMPL, II, no. 277, pp. 247–248.

Table 1. A list of people who received the indulgence of Roman stations

No.	Date	Beneficiary	Conditions	Indulgence value	Source
1	1488, 27 August	Grzegorz Lubrański provost from St. Florian's	Visiting an altar, saying 5 Lord's Prayers and 5 Hail Marys	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 277, pp. 247–248
2	1492, 1 Dec	Michał de Prasinow, archdeacon of Plock	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
3	1492, 1 Dec	Jan Zuppario canon of Kraków	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
4	1492, 1 Dec	Ambroży Pampowski and his wife (Zofia née Kot)	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
5	1492, 1 Dec	Marcin de Borzimow judge of Brzesko	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
6	1492, 1 Dec	Tomasz de Grodzisko grand standard-bearer of Rawa	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
7	1492, 1 Dec	Feliks de Goltano starost of Plock	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
8	1492, 1 Dec	Prokop de Sycpicz	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
9	1492, 1 Dec	Mikołaj Wisky de Myschow	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
10	1492, 1 Dec	Wawrzyniec of Wola Prusinowska	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
11	1492, 1 Dec	Ścibor de Myastkowo	Visiting an altar indicated by the confessor	Roman station church indulgence	VMPL, II, no. 284, pp. 253–255
12	1505, 25 June	Erazm Ciołek	Visiting an altar	Roman station church indulgence	Kopiarz rzymski (Roman cartulary) by Bishop Erazm Ciołek, no. 98, pp. 105–106

The so-called indulgences of Roman stations were granted also to individual religious orders and confraternities. Here the mendicants were especially privileged. Pursuant to the bull by Pope Sixtus IV, the servants working for the Poor Clares and the Franciscans, after saying 5 Lord's Prayers and 5 Hail Marys obtained the indulgence of Roman stations, the Porziuncola indulgence and the indulgence *in articulo mortis*. Pope Innocent VIII granted the indulgence of Roman stations to the families of monks and nuns and even lawyers. The latter could receive that indulgence if they represented the Franciscan friars in court; they only had to say 5 Lord's Prayers and 5 Hail Marys on behalf of the Christian Church<sup>44</sup>. Pope Pius II granted this indulgence to Observant monks who performed 7 penitential psalms; lay people were supposed to say the Lord's Prayer 24 times instead of the psalms<sup>45</sup>. The indulgences of Roman stations were also available to the faithful in Carmelite churches (on the strength of the bull by Pope Innocent VIII of 16 May 1487). The indulgence was obtained after visiting an altar indicated by the superior of a given order<sup>46</sup>. Three years later the pope granted the Roman stations indulgence to Augustinian churches<sup>47</sup>. On the strength of the bull by Pope Leo X the Franciscans, the Observants and members of Third Orders would get that indulgence after saying 5 Lord's Prayers and 5 Hail Marys<sup>48</sup>. The information about the indulgences of Roman stations granted to individual religious orders can be found in the lists of the rights and privileges they had obtained. These lists contain only the most important information (the name of the

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<sup>44</sup> Szymborski, *Niebiańska ekonomia*, p. 142.

<sup>45</sup> W. Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, (2011), Appendix I, no. 1417, p. 532.

<sup>46</sup> W. Szymborski, *Uwagi o znaczeniu religijnym Sanktuarium Matki Bożej Piaskowej w Krakowie na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów odrodzenia*, "Peregrinus Cracoviensis", 22 (2011), pp. 203–204.

<sup>47</sup> L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the close of the Middle Ages*, ed. F. I. Antrobus, 6 (1902), p. 142.

<sup>48</sup> Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Appendix I, no. 1417, p. 533.



pope, basic information on the indulgence, sometimes the name of the bull, yet without the exact dates of granting the indulgence) necessary to convey it to the faithful to encourage them to go on a pilgrimage to churches run by religious orders or to support the monks. Reading the indulgence documents, one can clearly see that in the sixteenth century the number of the indulgences of Roman stations grew dramatically. These, originally rather elitist in nature, gradually became – through Pope Leo X's generosity – more and more available to a wide group of the faithful.

Members of confraternities were also eligible for obtaining the indulgences of Roman stations, for instance the members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost run by the Order of the Holy Ghost<sup>49</sup>. The friars were informed about such a possibility on their admission to the brotherhood, as proven by a document sent to the burgher Maciej of Olkusz on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1494. It included a list of privileges and favors enjoyed by the confraternity of the Holy Ghost<sup>50</sup>. By joining the brotherhood run by the Order, one obtained the privilege of being able to benefit from all the favors the confraternity enjoyed. This was especially important when someone joined the Brotherhood at the Holy Ghost Hospital in Rome. As Prof. Halina Manikowska stresses, joining the brotherhood did not incur high costs, nor was the annual fee excessive either. That is why in the fraternity book one can find numerous entries of people who never actually reached the Tiber. According to estimates, almost half of the entries in the Holy Ghost Fraternity Book in Rome

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<sup>49</sup> For more on granting indulgences to the Order of the Holy Ghost see W. Szymborski, *Uwagi o średniowiecznym przewodniku po odpustach nadanych szpitalowi duchaków w Krakowie*, in: *Z religijnych zagadnień średniowiecza*, ed. by J. Drabina, (*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religio logica* 41, 2008), pp. 157–165.

<sup>50</sup> Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Archives in Kraków], parchment document no. 1296; see also the certificate of admission to the confraternity of the Order of the Holy Ghost of 15 November 1504 r. Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie [Diocese Archives in Pelplin], *Diplomata et epistolae*, Klasztor Benedyktynek w Toruniu [the Benedictine convent in Toruń], parchment document no. 14.

referring to German-speaking countries concern the people who had bought indulgences in that way<sup>51</sup>.

Thanks to the generosity of Pope Leo X, members of rosary fraternities (run by the order of the Dominicans) having visited 5 altars (should there not be as many altars in a given church, it was enough to venerate one or two) obtained the indulgence of Roman stations<sup>52</sup>. On the strength of the bull by Pope Leo X the faithful connected with the wider Cistercian circle (including monks, peasants employed at monastic farms, people representing the order's cases in court), after visiting 2 or 3 altars in the Cistercian churches (if someone was away from the Cistercian estate at that time, he could go to a different church) also obtained indulgences of Roman stations<sup>53</sup>.

Obtaining certain indulgences originally reserved for the Eternal City was possible at two necropoleis in Poland – in Gniezno and in Łask. The faithful buried there would receive the same indulgences as selected Roman cemeteries<sup>54</sup>. It was Primate Jan Łaski who solicited the obtainment of those privileges<sup>55</sup>. Thanks to his efforts, Pope Leo X assigned a series of indulgences to the cemetery at the Gniezno cathedral. On 27 June 1515 he agreed for Archbishop Jan Łaski to collect some earth (personally or through envoys) from two Roman

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<sup>51</sup> Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, p. 226–227.

<sup>52</sup> *Bullarium Confraternitatum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, (1668), chpt. VIII, p. 37.

<sup>53</sup> *Menologium cisterciense notationibus illustratum, auctore R. P. Chrysostomo Henriquez [...] Accedant seorsim regula, constitutiones et privilegia ejusdem ordinis ac congregationum monasticarum et militarium quae cisterciense [...]*, (1630), no. 24, pp. 302–303.

<sup>54</sup> The question of indulgences granted to the deceased was discussed in: W. Szymborski, *Odpusty dla zmarłych w średniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Trzecie polsko-czeskie forum młodych mediewistów. Commemoratio praeteritorum – społeczności średniowieczne wobec przeszłości*, ed. by H. Krzyżostaniak, J. Kujawiński, M. Matla, (2012), pp. 249–260.

<sup>55</sup> The one who arranged for them was Archbishop Jan Łaski; S. Grad, *Kościelna działalność Arcybiskupa i Prymasa Jana Łaskiego*, "Studia z Historii Kościoła w Polsce", 5 (1979), pp. 248–249; P. Tańkowski, *Jan Łaski (1456–1531) kanclerz koronny i prymas Polski*, (2007), p. 379, 390; M. Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, (2008), pp. 142–143.

necropoleis, Campo Santo and Sancti Gregorii de Urbe. After the earth from those cemeteries had been brought to Gniezno, the faithful buried there obtained all the favors granted to the Roman necropoleis<sup>56</sup>. One day earlier, the Bishop of Rome awarded a similar indulgence to the cemetery at the parish church in Łask where the Primate's ancestors were buried<sup>57</sup>. In the light of those documents, as Halina Manikowska emphasizes, one can identify the efforts of Primate Jan Łaski to create Polish equivalents of holy sites. The researcher links that with the fact that Saint Helena once scattered the earth from Akeldama on Campo Santo in Rome<sup>58</sup>. It is worth mentioning that earth brought from Jerusalem was also scattered on that cemetery. Official approval for this was granted on 11<sup>th</sup> January 1536 by Cardinal Antonius<sup>59</sup>. In both documents, the pope underlined Jan Łaski's contribution to the meetings of the Lateran Council. The obtainment of such significant indulgences was registered in a seventeenth-century collection devoted to the archbishops of Gniezno<sup>60</sup>.

Reading indulgence documents has allowed us to identify the practice of obtaining Roman indulgences without actually having to go to the Eternal City. The ones who appeared earliest and most widespread

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<sup>56</sup> Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie [Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno], parchment document no. 1220; see also VMPL, 2, no. 393, pp. 364–365.

<sup>57</sup> Muzeum Archidiecezji Łódzkiej [Museum of the Archdiocese of Łódź], parchment document no. 13.

<sup>58</sup> Manikowska, *Geografia sakralna miasta*, in: *Animarum cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, 1: *Struktury kościelno-publiczne*, ed. by H. Manikowska, W. Brojer, (2008), p. 124; eadem, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, pp. 266–267; Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, p. 208; idem, *Odpusty dla zmarłych*, pp. 255–256.

<sup>59</sup> R. Leszczyński, *Katalog rękopisów Muzeum Archidiecezji Łódzkiej*, "Prace i materiały historyczne Archiwum Archidiecezji w Łodzi i Muzeum Archidiecezji Łódzkiej", 3 (2006), doc. no. 28, p. 26; H. Rybus, *Archiwum kościoła w Łasku*, "Ateneum Kapłańskie", 31, 43, 4 (1939), doc. no. 28, p. 399.

<sup>60</sup> S. Damalewicz, *Series archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium atque res gestae e vetustis antiquitatum rudibus collectae*, (1649), p. 280.

were jubilee indulgences. From the example of the above-mentioned indulgences, we can observe the evolution of the attitude of the Holy See to the holy years. The supplication by Queen Hedwig of Poland emphasized the problem of dangers awaiting the pilgrims on the way, especially in hostile Austria<sup>61</sup>; this argument vanished later on. A significant argument the monarchs used was the necessity to defend the country against the Tartars and the Turks. Under this obligation, the Poles found it difficult to set off on the long journey to Rome. That is why the monarchs sought to create an opportunity for their subjects to obtain a jubilee indulgence at home.

Of a different nature were the so-called indulgences of Roman stations. Their elitist character significantly faded with time; they became almost generally available. The effort required to meet the conditions of receiving them was no comparison to the expensive and dangerous expedition to the Eternal City. Those indulgences were especially practiced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the churches run by the mendicant orders. The words of Bishop Bruno of Moravia of 16 December 1273 suit the sixteenth-century reality very well. The ordinary of the diocese warned the pope, arguing that excessive accumulation of indulgences in the mendicant churches could pose a risk to the development of pilgrimages to Rome. If such generous indulgences were available almost on the spot, what was the point in burdening oneself with the long and costly journey to Rome<sup>62</sup>? Despite the fact that the indulgences obtained by the pilgrims in Rome could be relatively easily received by the faithful in Poland and Lithuania, the pilgrimages to Rome did not cease. One of the reasons for this was the general conviction that the indulgences obtained in Rome had special powers<sup>63</sup>;

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<sup>61</sup> Sachetnik, *Prośba świętej Jadwigi*, pp. 255–256, 261–265.

<sup>62</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Bracia mniejsi w Polsce średniowiecznej*, in: *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej*, 1: *Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, ed. by idem, (*Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce* 1, 1983), pp. 29–30.

<sup>63</sup> See Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym*, pp. 338–339.

besides, we may not disregard other aspects motivating travellers to head to Rome. After all, people did not go on pilgrimages merely in order to receive indulgences<sup>64</sup>. The Eternal City has always attracted and will certainly never cease to attract crowds of visitors from Poland.

Translated by  
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### ŚREDNIOWIECZNY RZYM W POLSCE

ODPUSTY KOŚCIOŁÓW STACYJNYCH W RZYMIE A ODPUSTY JUBILEUSZOWE  
W POLSCE ŚREDNIOWIECZNEJ

(STRESZCZENIE)

Celem artykułu jest ukazanie metod symbolicznego pielgrzymowania do Rzymu (bez opuszczania granic kraju) ludności średniowiecznej Polski. Było to możliwe dzięki pozyskiwaniu tzw. odpustów jubileuszowych, nadaniom odpustów stacji rzymskich, a także poprzez odwiedzenie dwóch nekropolii (Gniezno i Łask), na których rozsypało się ziemię zebraną z cmentarzy rzymskich. Omawiając nadania indulgencji stacji rzymskich wskazano beneficjentów tych nadań oraz zasygnalizowano kwestię przywilejów odpustowych udzielanych zakonowi mendikańckim.

### MITTELALTERLICHES ROM IN POLEN

ABLÄSSE DER STATIONSKIRCHEN IN ROM UND DIE JUBILÄEN-ABLÄSSE  
IM MITTELALTERLICHEN POLEN

(ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

Dieser Artikel zielt darauf ab, die Methoden einer symbolischen Pilgerfahrt nach Rom (ohne die Grenzen des Landes zu verlassen) der Bevölkerung Polens im Mittelalter aufzuzeigen. Dies war dank der sogenannten Jubiläumsablässe, der Verleihung der

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<sup>64</sup> See the comments on the motives for going on pilgrimages in medieval Europe: J. van Herwaarden, *Medieval Pilgrimages*, in: idem, *Between Saint James and Erasmus. Studies in late medieval religious life. Devotion and pilgrimage in the Netherlands*, transl. W. Shaffer, D. Gardner, (2003), pp. 138–141; cf Webb, *Pardons and Pilgrims*, pp. 244–245; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 3–4, 39–41.

Römischen Stations-Ablässe sowie durch den Besuch eines der zwei Nekropole (in Gniezno und Łask), wo Erde aus den römischen Friedhöfen verstreut wurde, möglich. Bei der Darstellung der Verleihungsprozesse bei der Römischen Stations-Indulgenz wurde auf die Benefiziaten hingewiesen sowie die Frage von Ablassprivilegien für die Mendikanten-Orden erörtert.

Übersetzt von  
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## MEDIEVAL ROME IN POLAND

### INDULGENCES OF THE STATION CHURCHES OF ROME AND JUBILEE INDULGENCES IN MEDIEVAL POLAND

(SUMMARY)

The aim of the article is to present methods of symbolic pilgrimages to Rome (without leaving one's own country) carried out by people of medieval Poland. It was possible thanks to acquiring the so called jubilee indulgences, granting indulgences of the Roman stations and visiting two necropolises (Gniezno and Łask) where the soil collected from Roman cemeteries had been scattered. The article discusses the granting of indulgences of the Roman stations, points out their beneficiaries and touches upon the question of indulgence privileges given to mendicant orders.

Translated by  
Agnieszka Chabros

### **Słowa kluczowe / Schlagworte / Keywords**

- Pielgrzymki; średniowiecze; odpusty
- Wallfahrt; Mittelalter; Ablässe
- Pilgrimages; Middle Ages; indulgences

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